11: Mead--161[3] (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 437, 441

"The first heads that found their way out of the Jivaro country did so by being passed from hand to hand until they came into the possession of some trader who brought them down the Amazon to Para, where they were disposed of. Unfortunately the Jivaro soon learned that these heads were much in demand by white men and began to prepare them for the traders, being by no means particular as to whose head was used, and it is said that advance orders were frequently taken and filled. Certain it is that now and then short-haired heads bearing mustaches find their way into the market."

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machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos returned the visit of the *kasa*.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[28] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[29]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[30] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

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101 628 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jivaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 439 [411] [441] The relative isolation of the interior Jivaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jivaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jivaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

[464] The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jivaro in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jivaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manufactured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of native-type goods among the Jivaro on the frontier, partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jivaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 628 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

## *Trading Partners*

• 441 591 592 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any corporate kinship groups to provide security, the Jivaro create social bonds by making "friends" (*aniagri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *aniagri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceeding the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *aniagri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

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tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

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The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *awigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *awigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *awigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *awigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

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These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jivaroans

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438 to the east and southeast. In its total extent, this network of
439 Indian trading partners apparently stretches from the foot of
441 the Andes in the west to near Iquitos on the Amazon in the east, and from the Río Napo in the north to the Río Marañon in the south. Its most complex and intensive manifestations occur in the isolated interior, where the native distribution system is uninterrupted by white traders or colonization.

Trade in the interior involves two kinds of commodities about equally: white-manufactured valuables (*apa'i huir*) and Indian-manufactured valuables (*huar huir*), the latter particularly from the Achuara tribe. The frontier Jivaro west of the Cutucú mountain range, who are in direct contact with the whites at Macas, Sucúa, and other smaller settlements, obtain the Western-manufactured items primarily by engaging in wage labor for the whites. These then are carried over the Cutucú range by means of several different foot trails.

The Achuara people to the east, lacking any such direct source of large quantities of steel cutting tools and guns, have to trade with the interior Jivaro to obtain them. The Achuara, for their part, have a near monopoly on the manufacture of blowguns and curare, and produce feather ornaments which are highly esteemed by the Jivaro. The Achuara also supply various monkeys, parrots, and marmosets, as well as such items as woven kilts, ornamental earsticks, and native beadwork. In addition, they are the sole suppliers of glass beads, which, for an unknown reason, are available in the Peruvian Amazon, but not in the Ecuadorian Oriente. Except for these glass beads and some .44 caliber cartridges, Achuara trade in items from Peru is severely limited, apparently because the only native-produced goods in which the Peruvians are interested are jaguar, ocelot, and especially peccary hides. The geographical isolation of the Achuara

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rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manufactured goods by entering into any labor relationship with whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jivaro to supply them with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a dozen rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañon far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jivaro to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Río Mangosiza and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit each other every two and a half to four months. The visiting trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from the white-Jivaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and thereafter address one another in the diminutive as "little friend," i.e., *emiki*. While the term *amigri* is the third person possessive form of *amigu*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the development and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[3] Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after a series of informal visits, during which they may have exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other, a cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

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441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
451 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also
442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical assembly of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowgun, blowgun dart points, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*hait*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host
441 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives
574 a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his
[431] guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Amigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

| *Trade Goods from the West* | EQUALS | *Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 pot of salt | | 1 blowgun |
| 1 pot of salt | | 1 gourd of blowgun dart poison |
| 1 machete or 1 steel axe-head | | 1 blowgun |
| 1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun | | 1 red toucan feather headband (revenge) |

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jivaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jivaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consciously attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

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441 572 593 [602] of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*amiči*) in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yamadi*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 628 721 [572] The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if possible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus, when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading partner's *amigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *amigri* is absolutely essential when a Jivaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *amigri* institution, well-developed Jivaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *amigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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greater the chance of being murdered by an enemy. Therefore, a series of trading partners is necessary to transport goods across the territory of the Jívaro tribe from the frontier of white colonization to the Achuara and back.

In the Río Cangaimi neighborhood in 1956–57, an *amigri* named Hintač was the participant in a chain of trading partners extending to near Iquitos, Peru (see Figure 5). His case provides an example of one such series of trading partners. He was trading white-manufactured goods and Jívaro salt to his "friend" Tiwi, an Achuara residing on the lower Río Macuma. Tiwi, in turn, exchanged goods with his Achuara *amigri*, Mukučam, of the *yaŋuntsa* neighborhood. The latter continued the trade farther to the southeast with Aŋuašä, in the *čaŋuap* neighborhood. Finally, Aŋuašä then exchanged goods with a white trader (name unknown) who was reported to live in or near Iquitos.

In the other direction, west from the Río Cangaimi neighborhood, Hintač was a link in another series of trading partners. At the time, he was on extremely hostile terms with many of the Río Cusuimi people and lacked a "friend" there for his trade to the west. Consequently, he became an *amigri* of a man of his own neighborhood who himself had a trading partner, Kašinhint, in the Cusuimi region, and thereby was able to effect a continuation of trade westward. Kašinhint, in turn, traded with Wampútsurek west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, about half a day's walk from the white settlement of Sucúa in the Río Upano Valley. Wampútsurek obtained steel cutting tools, guns, and ammunition for the return trade primarily from people of his neighborhood who were working for the Ecuadorian colonists in Sucúa.

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FIGURE 5
Schematic diagram of a trading partnership chain

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death.

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jivaro as the guilty party.

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination.

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher.

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma-

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from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jivaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal witchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in inter-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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178 721 441 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose participants and their relatives have a vested interest in the maintenance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 411 726 [342] [712] [714] Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

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178 342 411 712 726 Changes in house construction during the past few decades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of firearms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The